2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

SECTION OF ANTHROPOLOGY

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DOCTOR CHARLES WAGLEY, Columbia University: *The Effects of Depopulation upon Social Organization as Illustrated by the Tapirapé Indians.*

121 In recent years, there has been an increasing interest in the general processes of culture change resulting from contacts between European and native peoples. Such studies are part of the study of "acculturation," a term recently defined by Professors Linton, Redfield, and Herskovits: "The crux of the definition lies in the phrase, 'Those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact.'"[1] This period of continuous first-hand contact historically follows upon a period of sporadic contact between the native peoples and some few Europeans (fur traders, explorers, missionaries, and even occasional single settlers), which in a sense has prepared the ground for a more intense influence of European culture when relations between the two peoples have become continuous. Few ethnologists have witnessed this period of sporadic contact and histories have little to tell us of it. But during this period, borrowing of European material culture generally occurs. Often the value system of the native culture is shifted, as objects having minor value take on major value for purposes of trade. Of great importance is the introduction of foreign disease, which frequently wipes out large numbers, or even the major part of the native population.

105 The Tapirapé Indians, among whom the author lived for more than a year,[2] are a Tupí speaking people living between the Araguaya and Xingu Rivers of Central Brazil near an affluent of the Araguaya which bears their name. They are a forest people and their village lies some fifty miles back from the

[1] Linton, Ralph: *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, p. 464.

[2] This research extended from January 1939 to June 1940, and was made possible by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, Columbia University.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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TAPIRAPÉ SHAMANISM

Charles Wagley
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The present article is part of a more extensive study on Tapirapé life now in preparation. The material was collected during two periods of residence in the Tapirapé village of Tampiitawa, the first from May to September 1939, and the second from November 1939, to May 1940. The field work among the Tapirapé was made possible by a grant from the Columbia University Social Science Research Council and was carried on under the direction of Dr. Ralph Linton of the Columbia University Department of Anthropology. In Brazil, the expeditions to the Tapirapé were made under the auspices of the Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro. The ethnographical collections gathered during both trips were added to the rich material on Brazilian Indian life belonging to that institution. I wish to thank the Director and the staff of the Museu Nacional for the many facilities and full cooperation which made possible both expeditions.

During the month of April 1940, while in the Tapirapé village, I was joined by two students from Museu Nacional. This month was spent in training these men in field techniques for the collecting of ethnographical material. This was the beginning of a training program in ethnographical field methods, which proceeded through 1941 and 1942. On a grant from the Committee for Inter-American Intellectual and Artistic Relations, I returned to Brazil to work at the Museu Nacional, in July 1941, for this purpose. At the Museu I gave a three

128 [Ed., p. 86 and all but the last two lines of p. 87 are not translated.]

[87] In the pages that follow I wish to discuss a social institution
●121 of the Tapirapé, the like of which I have not yet found [88] either among the other tribes I have visited or in the literature. I call it "eating groups." [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

264 The social significance of this organization into "eating groups"
224 derives from their purpose, which is as follows. Sometimes it happens that the produce of the hunt or of the harvest, which among these Indians may be eaten by either sex and also by the children (for exam-
[262] ple, wild pig, curassow, guan, turtle, honey, etc.), is too sizable for the hunter's family and not sizable enough to be shared justly and advantageously with the entire population of the village. In such a case, to avoid a less equitable act, the distribution is made among the mem-
574 476 bers of the eating group to which the hunter belongs.

264 At the time of my stay among the Tapirapé, they were divided
551 into seven eating groups [89]. They say that in the old days the groups were more numerous. The names of the existing groups are Txankanépéra [Tr., the Portuguese x equals English sh], Pananivũána, Maniitivuéra, Kauuanoĩ, Tauaupéra, Ampirampé, Avaĩnki'. Whenever I asked for an explanation of their meaning, I was merely given the word tãtáupáua. Undoubtedly, however, some of the group names are related to the names of animals and plants, Txankanépéra with txankané (alligator), Maniitivuéra with mandiivúnã (a variety of manioc), Avaĩnki' with vuaiki'tã (a variety of manioc). This may be
[771] a vestige of totemic ideas, although they are not manifested in the behavior of the group members. For example, the attitude of the Txankanépéra group members toward the alligator is no different from that of the members of other groups. It is true that at the common
551 feasts each person is called by the name of the group and also is what
476 the name represents. Thus, for example, a member of the
264 Txankanépéra group will say, "Txe Txankanépéra," which means both "I am called Txankanépéra" and "I am Txankanépéra," and says to his group-fellow, male or female, "Ané Txankanépéra ('You are called Txankanépéra,' or 'You are Txankanépéra')."

192 Tãtáupáua designates both the common feast of a group and the
574 institution of eating groups in general. When I asked the Tapirapé what
476 they called themselves as a community, I got the answer "Ampiáua"
264 (a word that means "man" in the Tupí of the Amazon) and the statement
[101]

121 [122] [137] Having been invited by Dr. Modesto Donatini Dias da Cruz, Director of the Indian Service, to represent the São Paulo Museum and the Free School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo on the team he organized to inspect the Indian posts and to explore certain areas of central Brazil, I imparted to him in a report dated October 31, 1947, the observations made in the course of the journey carried out during the months of June, July, and August of the same year, as well as a few suggestions on the matter. The following pages are a reproduction of this report with a few modifications and additions.

I. The Tapirapé

162 621 On July 19, 1947, we counted 62 inhabitants in the Tapirapé village of Tampiitáua, 59 of whom were subjected to a medical examination by my traveling companion, Dr. Harolodo Cândido de Oliveira. The following table provides the age and sex ratios:

	Male	Female	Total
5 years and under	5	3	8
from 6 to 15 years	7	3	10
from 16 to 30 years	14	17	31
over 30 years old	6	4	10
Total	32	27	59

It is to be assumed that the three who evaded the examination were boys. In addition, we found at Pôrto Velho a Tapirapé woman over 30 years old who was living among the frontier people.

In 1935, Tampiitáua had 130 inhabitants, 69 of them male and 61 female.

[166] It should be mentioned that since that time certain individuals have emigrated to Txitxutáua, another Tapirapé village located quite a distance away. Their number, however, seems to be inferior to that of persons who have moved from there to Tampiitáua. According to various [138] reports, Txitxutáua is much smaller than this village, [161] so that today the entire Tapirapé tribe probably does not exceed 100 members.

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

THE FEAR IN TAPIRAPÉ CULTURE

Herbert Baldus

121 Fear, although its biological aspects connect mankind with the animals, assumes among ourselves characteristics which by tradition vary from people to people, that is, cultural traits. Socially determined differences exist in the exteriorization of fear as well as in its causes.

In certain cultures one should not show fear; in others there is nothing to prevent one from exhibiting it. There are peoples and cultural epochs which like to see their women habitually frightened and so to establish a contrast with the calmness of the men. In many South American tribes the women easily weep, tremble, cry or groan because of any danger, real or supposed, and are or pretend to be especially frightened by certain masked dances and other ceremonies performed by the men.[1] Goethe, in "Faust," when Margaret faints, exclaiming "Nachbarin! Euer Fläschchen!" ("Neighbour, your smelling-bottle!"), alludes to a common custom of his time in Europe. The modern European woman who no longer uses smelling-salts shows that such manifestations of terror are not conditioned by nature, but by culture. As regards the real female constitution it may be mentioned that "in an important study made during World War II, *Psychological Effects of War on Citizen and Soldier* (1942), Dr. R. D. Gillespie reported that in the heavily bombed areas of London and Kent almost 70 per cent more men broke down and became psychiatric casualties than women!"[2]

In certain cultures death is feared, in others, not. Circumstances which produce feelings of inadequacy and consequently fear in certain societies don't exist in others. The so-called "imaginary fear"[3] which creates phantoms is found among most primitive peoples and is generally limited, among the peoples with European languages, to the less educated classes.

152 171 The Tapirapé differ from other South American tribes by exteriorizing the fear in both sexes, by the frequency and ease of such exteriorization, and by the multiplicity of causes for fear. The naturalness with which on several occasions Kamairahó, the most important Tapirapé leader, said to me: "Akyitié, I am afraid," is only comparable with the almost automatic manner of the Tapirapé's using the interjection "Akỹ" when feeling any pain, even the sting of a mosquito bite. This caused me to think frequently of the contrast presented in all that by Indians I knew in the Paraguayan Chaco, for instance of the apparent impassibility of the Chamakoko. It is true that the Tapirapé calm down with the same ease with which they are alarmed. A few words of mine were enough to make Kamairahó laugh again, speaking carelessly with his wife about other things. I had the impression that among the Chaco Indians the emotions penetrated deeper, while among the Tapirapé they were like slight circles on the surface of a pond into which a little stone had been thrown, circles which soon disappear into the distance.

152 396 But among these Tupian Indians of the Araguaya basin, the exteriorization of fear is not restricted to interjection. We find it expressed in attitudes and institutions. We feel it, although masked, in the mechanical smile with which, from earliest infancy, they greet the person who speaks to them. We suspect it still in other aspects of their obsequiousness.

[P. 396]

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

CULTURAL INFLUENCES ON POPULATION: A COMPARISON OF TWO TUPÍ TRIBES

by

CHARLES WAGLEY

Contact with European civilization has had a varied effect upon the population trends of native societies. Frequently conquest warfare, slavery, bad labor conditions, disruption of aboriginal subsistence methods, and above all foreign disease have brought a rapid population decline which has led in many cases to the total disappearance of aboriginal groups as distinct ethnic units. In other instances, native groups have made an adjustment to the new circumstances. After an initial epoch of sharp decline in population, a few native groups have not only regained their former population level but actually increased in number several times fold. The depopulation of many Melanesian Islands, the decimation of the coastal Tupí speaking peoples of Brazil, and the rapid disintegration of the aboriginal groups of the Antilles are well known examples of sharp population decline following European contact from which the groups never recovered. The multiplication of the Navajo during the last century and the population growth of the Polynesian Island of Tikopia after European contact are examples of recovery and expansion. (1)

In many cases, these differences in population trend following European contact may be explained in terms of the nature of contact with Europeans to which the different native groups have been subjected. Epidemics have varied in frequency and in intensity among native groups and the systematic exploitation of native peoples through slavery and other forms of enforced labor has taken heavier toll upon native population in some areas than in others. On the other hand, introduced crops, domesticated animals, new instruments, and new techniques have sometimes raised the aboriginal subsistence level and made possible an expansion of population.

Yet, the causes of such different trends in population among native groups after European contact cannot always be sought in the contact situation alone. The variables which allowed one group to absorb the shock of new disease and other disrupting accompaniments of European

(1) cf. Firth (1939) pp. 39-48.

[p. 95]

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara SO6

Ta Te 121

contact and to revive, or which led to quasi — or total extinction of a people may also be found in the culture and the society of peoples concerned. Each culture has a population policy — — — an implicit or explicit set of cultural values relating to population size. The social structure of each society is closely inter-related with a specific population level. A modification of the external environment, such as that brought about by contact with Europeans, generally calls for change both in cultural values as well as in social structure. In addition to environment, technology, and other material factors, cultural values and social structure act also to determine population size and demographic trends in face of modified external circumstances. A rapid decrease in population due to new disease or an increase in population resulting from an increased food supply calls for adjustments in population policy (implicit or explicit) and in social structure. It is the purpose of the present paper to examine the relationship between these social and cultural factors and the population trends following European contact of two Tupí speaking tribes of Brazil.

Ta Te [131] 161 648

The two Tupí speaking tribes in question are the Tenetehara of northeastern Brazil and the Tapirapé of central Brazil. (2) After more than 300 years of contact with Luso-Brazilians the Tenetehara in 1945 still numbered some 2000 people —— not much less, if at all, than the aboriginal population. On the other hand, by 1947 the Tapirapé with less than forty years of sporadic and peaceful contact with Luso-Brazilians had been reduced to less than one hundred people, the remnant of an aboriginal population which must have numbered more than one thousand. While the Tenetehara still maintained a functioning social system and continued as a distinct ethnic group, Tapirapé society was in 1947 almost totally disorganized and the Tapirapé as a distinct people were clearly on the road to extinction. (3)

Ta Te [182]

Te 177 648 797

A partial answer to this very different reaction to Luso-Brazilian contact may be found in the nature of the acculturation process which each has experienced. Although the first decades of Tenetehara relations with Europeans were marked by slave raids, massacres, and epidemics, the protection of the Jesuits during more than one century (1653-1759) seems to have given the Tenetehara time to make adjustments in their culture and society to changing external circumstances. The missionaries were able to prevent the movement of colonists into Tenetehara territory; and after the expulsion

(2) Basic description of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara have been published elsewhere: Cf. Wafgley and Galvão, 1948 A, 1948 B, and 1949. Baldus, 1937, 1944-1949, 1948 B, 1949 9B, Ms. Only directly pertinent descriptive data is present in this paper.

Ta 161 [166]

(3) Cf. Wagley (1940) and Baldus (1945 vol. CIII, 1948 B, 1949 B), for discussion of Tapirapé depopulation and disorganization. Baldus (1948 B) pp. 127-128, who found the village called Tampiitáua inhabited by 130 individuals in 1935, and only 62 in 1947, mentions that during this lapse of time several inhabitants had emigrated to another Tapirapé village very far from Tampiitáua, but that their number seems to be lower than the number of those who came from there to Tampiitáua. According to information received by this author, the other village is smaller than Tampiitáua, so that in 1947 the whole tribe probably counted less than a hundred members. In the same year, shortly after Baldus' visit, the Tapirapé were attacked by Kayapó Indians and lost several individuals.